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# IRĀNIAN ART

BY

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BY

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## CONTENTS.

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### I

PAGE.

MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE, BAS-RELIEFS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND COINS .....	I-45
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### II

THE IRĀNIAN ALPHABETS.....	46-59
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# IRĀNIAN ART\*

## I.

### MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE, BAS-RELIEFS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND COINS.

WHETHER it be entirely due to accidental circumstances or not, it is at least a remarkable fact that all the monuments of Irānian art now in existence belong exclusively to the two Southern dynasties. The cuneiform inscriptions, which have been found in Media, are either foreign to that country, or at least do not belong to the Irānian dynasty of Media. Herodotus relates (I. 98, 99) that Deioces compelled the Medes to build him a fortress. Nevertheless, in the assertion that the seven battlements of this fortress were painted in seven different colours, we may trace the influence of Babylon, where we also find structures having seven storeys, each storey built with bricks of different colours, each colour representing a different planet.<sup>1</sup> Polybius, too (10, 27), mentions a splendid palace in

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\* *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III. pp. 797-833.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lenormant, *Manuel de l'histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, II. p. 345. Duncker in the latest edition of his *Geschichte des Alterthums* questions this opinion, which, though it cannot be completely proved, is at least highly probable. [Compare also *La Magie chez les Chaldeens*, "Chaldean Magic," Eng. ed. pp. 226-227:—"The worship of the stars was fully developed in the system of Median Magic. . . . . Evidently it came into Persia

Ekbatana; yet we do not know whether its erection can be ascribed to such a remote period. No traces of the fortress of Deioces, or even of a later palace, can now be found on the site of the ancient Ekbatana. But, though the disappearance of those monuments may be explained by the great antiquity of the Median empire, the same apology cannot be urged in favour of the empire of the Arsacidae. Moreover, it is evident that the kings of that dynasty had no ambition to hand down their glory to posterity, either by the raising of monumental buildings or by engraving inscriptions.

The artistic monuments belonging to the Achaemenidae date from the very founder of their dynasty, Cyrus, the remains of whose edifices lie in the plains of Murghāb.<sup>1</sup> We cannot believe the assumption that the plains of Murghāb were identical with the ancient Pasargadæ;<sup>2</sup> however, this does not imply that Cyrus could never have

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from the Magi. The principal feature of this worship amongst the Medes is made known to us by the description which Herodotus gives of the seven walls of Ekbatana, each with the sacred colour of one of the seven planets. The same sacramental arrangement was observed in the town of Ganzakh, the Ganzaca of the classical writers, and in Ātropātene, since Moses Chorenensis calls it 'the second Ekbatana, the town with seven walls.' Later, in the period of the Sassanian dynasty, the Persian poet Nizāmi describes this style as prevailing in the 'Palace of the Seven Planets' built by Behrām-Gour or Verahrān V. (A.D. 420)." The famous Babylonian tower of Borsippa is said to have had seven storeys with the colours representing the seven planetary bodies.—*Tr.n.*]

<sup>1</sup> [*Vide* Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I. p. 95. An extensive valley near the upper banks of the Pulvār is called the Murghāb valley.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Vide* Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 487 :—"The hill unquestionably commands the entrance to the valley, or rather plain of Murgāb, now admitted to be that of Pasargadæ; but the strong natural barriers, which the mountains present to the south and to the north, render additional walls unnecessary. Nevertheless,

built in that region. Several edifices, indeed, seem to have once existed there;<sup>1</sup> but they have been so utterly demolished, that no plan of them can now be made out. A platform is still visible, leaning towards the hill which commands the plains of Murghāb. It is 264 feet high and has a frontage of more than 200 feet; but the buildings, which formerly stood on this platform, have long since disappeared. In another part of the plain there is a second platform, on which five pillars, the remains of a smaller palace, are still erect. On one of these pillars there is the image of a man wearing a peculiar head-dress, such as is observed also on Egyptian monuments, and with wings apparently issuing from the shoulders. A short inscription over the image states that it represents *Kurus*, the king of the Achaemenidae. Certain peculiarities in the inscription seem to prove that it is older than the other cuneiform writings, and that it may even date from Cyrus<sup>2</sup>

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Pliny (VI. 26), calls this spot the Castle of Pasargadæ, occupied by the Magi, and wherein is the tomb of Cyrus:—"Inde ad orientem Magi obtinent Passagardas castellum, in quo Cyri sepulcrum est." The city of Pasargadæ may, therefore, rather be considered a holy city, consecrated to the Colleges of the Magi, and the officers of religion, than as a stationary royal residence. And nothing can be more probable, since it was built by Cyrus to commemorate the great victories which made him king, than that he should consecrate it to the gods. Cyrus, according to Xenophon, made seven visits into Persia Proper, his original kingdom, after his accession to the vast empire to which he gave its name; and although that historian does not specify the particular place in his paternal land, whither he went to perform his accustomed religious duties; yet, as he was the founder of Pasargadæ, avowedly as a memorial of his national achievements, what can we more naturally suppose, than that Pasargadæ would be the scene of such rites?"—*Tr.n.*]

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ker Porter, "Travels," (London, 1821), vol. I. pp. 485 seq. Ménant, *Les Achéménides*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, pp. 75, 145.

the Great. This supposition is borne out by the wings, which, as we already know, are symbols of kingly majesty.<sup>1</sup> The head-dress is supposed to represent splendour and glory. But, since Cyrus in his inscription calls himself simply "king," it seems that that image must have been carved even before he had assumed the title of "Great King." A third edifice, which is in a state of complete preservation and belongs to the time of the Achaemenidae, is now popularly known as the sepulchre of the mother of Suliemān. It is really a tomb, though not that of Cyrus, but probably of a woman.<sup>2</sup> A wide area surrounds this tomb,<sup>3</sup> which may be recognized from its outward appearance by the remains of 24 round columns forming a quadrangle having six columns on each face.<sup>4</sup> The base, on which the sepulchre rests, is composed of huge blocks of beautiful white marble, rising in a series of steps. At the foot of these steps the base measures 40 feet in one

<sup>1</sup> [Comp. *ibid*, vol. III. p. 599:—"Herodotus relates that when Cyrus had a mind to attack the Massagetæ, he fancied in his dream that he saw two wings growing from the shoulders of Darius, and that one of these over-shadowed Asia, the other Europe; this may only be a symbol of royal dignity, and in fact we find in Murghāb, Cyrus himself represented with wings and with a head-dress which can only be supposed to be a halo emblematic of royalty. This is found only in the case of members of the royal family, who are distinguished also by other symbols from the generality of mankind. For instance, the descendants of Kai-qobād have black moles on their arms, and the Seleucidæ spread the belief that they were born with a mark on their hips in the shape of a buoy."—*Tr.n.*]

<sup>2</sup> [Cf. *E. A.* vol. II. p. 621. Oppert believes that the modern Murghāb may be identical with the Μαργάριον mentioned by Ptolemy, (VI. 4); nevertheless he supposes that the sepulchre may be that of a woman, possibly of Kassandane referred to by Herodotus in II. 1.]

<sup>3</sup> Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 499.

<sup>4</sup> [To have six columns on each side, four must be placed within the quadrangle:—*Tr.n.*]

direction and 44 in the other. The lowest step is 5 feet 6 inches high, the second begins 2 feet from the edge of the first, and measures 3 feet and 6 inches in height, the third is 3 feet 4 inches high, the fourth 1 foot 11 inches, the fifth 1 foot 10 inches, and the sixth is of the same height as the fifth. On the top rises the sepulchre, which opens on the north-western side, and is 4 feet in height. Its interior contains only one empty chamber. It is probable that this edifice is modelled after the Babylonian temples, though on a reduced scale and executed in stone.<sup>1</sup> According to Sir Henry Rawlinson's assertion, the work of excavation in the plains of Murghāb ought to prove useful, and we may expect from it interesting results in the future.

From Murghāb a march of only a few leagues brings us to the magnificent valley, in which was the old residence of the Achaemenidae. The plain is called Hafrek, or more commonly, though erroneously, Merdasht, which only denotes the tract extending from the ruins of Istakhr, on the left bank of the Palvār, to the junction of this river with the Kum Fīrūz. We know from ancient chronicles how the royal palace of Persia was destroyed by a Greek courtezan, who in the course of a drunken orgy threw a burning torch into the edifice. Nevertheless, some portions of it have been preserved to this day. The plain of Hafrek also contains a few more ruins of the same age. The present population of Irān, having long since lost all remembrance of the Achaemenidae, give to these ruins entirely false names, and generally associate them with the heroes of old legendary history. The most important are known by the name of the Forty Columns (*Chihil-setūn* or *Chihil-minār*.)<sup>2</sup> A description of the palace, as it existed

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<sup>1</sup> Ferguson, "History of Architecture," vol. I. p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> ["These ruins, for which the name *Chihil Menāre* or the 'forty minarets,' can be traced back to the 13th century, are now known as Takhti Jamshīd, 'the throne of Jamshīd.' That they repre-

before its destruction, has been transmitted to us by Diodorus, (17, .71).<sup>1</sup> According to his statement, the castle had three walls, of which the first was 16 ells high and provided with a parapet; the second wall had double this height; the third, which formed a quadrangle 60 ells in height, was built of immense blocks of stone; on each side were brazen doors and also railings 20 ells high. The interior of the castle contained chambers for the king and his chief officers, and the treasury. This account seems to be quite borne out by the remains of the castle existing at the present day. The first two walls mentioned by Diodorus have disappeared; but the inner quadrangle containing the castle proper still remains. This castle stood on a cliff, the sides of which had been made perpendicular by art, partly by scarping the black marble rock, and partly by erecting a massive wall against its sides. The terrace thus formed had its front

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sent the Persepolis captured and partly destroyed by Alexander the Great, has been beyond dispute at least since the time of Pietro della Valle. Amongst the earlier scholars the fanciful notions of the Persians, who are utterly ignorant of the real history of their country before Alexander, often received too much attention; hence many of them were of opinion that the buildings were of much higher antiquity than the time of Cyrus; and even those who rightly regarded them as the works of the Achaemenians, were unable to support their theory by conclusive evidence. The decipherment of the cuneiform Persian inscriptions found on the ruins and in the neighbourhood has put an end to all doubt on this point. We now read with absolute certainty that some of the edifices are the work of Darius I., Xerxes, Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), and with equal certainty we may conclude that all the others were built under the Achaemenian dynasty." *Vide* "Encyclopædia Britannica."—*Tr.n.*]

<sup>1</sup> Besides the works of Niebuhr and Ker Porter, for this description I have also referred to Lassen's article on Persepolis in *Der Ersch und Gruberschen Encyclopädie*, Menant's *Les Achéménides*, (Paris 1872), and Fergusson's "History of Architecture."

towards the west, the right side towards the north, the left towards the south, while the back or the eastern side was connected with the higher mountain behind. The height of this terrace is about 11 yards, its length from north to south about 520 yards, and its breadth from east to west 315 yards.<sup>1</sup> Its shape may be described as almost quadrangular, though with many corners or angles and small projections. The surface is not quite level, but divides itself into three platforms of different heights. The ascent is on the western side, though not in the middle, but nearer the north. A splendid double flight of stairs leads up to the terrace. It is about 23 feet broad, and formed of blocks of marble so immense that ten steps and about a seventh part of the eleventh are cut in a single block, while each of these steps is scarcely 4 inches high, so that one can easily ride up on horseback. Each of the two staircases has a resting-place in the middle. On the southern side, also, a smaller and steeper staircase leads up to the platform, and probably a similar one, as I conjecture, existed on the northern side. As soon as you ascend the platform, you stand before two pillars from which stand out two gigantic bulls (about 18 feet high and  $19\frac{1}{2}$  feet long). They stand on pedestals of about 5 feet in height and form the remains of a doorway only  $12\frac{3}{4}$  feet in breadth. This doorway leads into a small apartment, which had, even in M. Chardin's time, four splendid columns. At present only two are erect ( $54\frac{7}{10}$  feet high). They are evidently relics of a portico, which led to two other pillars with corresponding figures. In the latter the bulls are represented with human faces wearing tiaras. We now learn that the figures of these fabulous beasts are

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Menant, *Les Achéménides*, p. 39. According to Ker Porter (I. p. 582), the terrace has a length of 802 feet towards the south, 926 feet towards the north, and 1,425 feet towards the west.



imitations of the Assyrian style of architecture.<sup>1</sup> An inscription at the entry (D, as it is generally named), informs us that this door was built by Xerxes and intended to be the ordinary entrance. This accounts for the large double staircase, which served for the accommodation of deputations consisting of great numbers of people. The only trace yet existing on the smooth-worn part of the terrace, besides this entrance, is a conspicuous cistern, probably a relic of an ancient aqueduct. This part of the structure may also have contained the quarters of the guards and other servants of the castle. If you turn from this doorway to the right hand (*i.e.*, to the south), you come to a second splendid staircase, through which you ascend, by 31 steps, to the second part of the terrace, which is higher by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet. There are altogether four staircases; a double staircase in the middle, and single staircases rising on the eastern and western sides. The projecting wall of the middle staircase is covered with sculptures divided by three tablets intended for inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Two of these tablets are blank, and the Old Persian text (A) alone has been engraved on the third. It dates from Xerxes I. On both sides of the inscriptions stand figures, three on the right with spears and shields, four on the left with spears only. The number seven I do not consider to be merely accidental. Each of the figures wears a high tiara and the Median costume, while the beard and hair are carefully curled. Probably they represent body-guards and chamberlains, who watched the entrance to the royal apartments. The two angular spaces on each side of these figures are filled with effigies of a lion attacking a fabulous beast. The rear wall also of that part of the platform,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ménant, *ibid*, p. 40. He surmises that the faces of these beasts were likenesses, and that it is not difficult to recognize in their features the monarchs whom the artist intended to represent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 594 and tablet 34.

from which the staircase projects, extends from east to west, side by side with the ascending steps, and is covered with engraved figures of persons apparently ascending. Originally there were three rows of such figures, but the topmost row has been half destroyed, which circumstance proves that the wall must have been formerly higher. The length of each row is 68 feet. Towards the east the lowest row includes 53 persons standing,<sup>1</sup> of whom 32 are men, partly in close-fitting and partly in wide garments. The latter seems to be the Persian, the former the Median costume. The head is apparently covered by a flat cap; hair and beard are dressed with the customary care. Some of the figures carry bows, others short swords; others again are without any weapons, but adorned with necklaces, ear-rings, and bracelets, all royal insignia, perhaps indicative of their rank. Several of them carry a staff with a ball. These are, as Sir R. Ker Porter correctly supposes, the so-called *Melophores*. Before these 32 figures march 21 armed men, probably a portion of the body-guard. The second row shows again 32 persons of the same description, preceded by 21 spearmen. The figures in the third row cannot now be made out. I am inclined to believe that these personages are partly the great men of the Empire, who had the special privilege of ascending in the presence of the king by the chief staircase. Still more interesting are the carvings on the western side of the wall.<sup>2</sup> Here also there are three rows, one above the other. The highest row is again damaged. The figures are arranged in divisions of six persons each, the divisions being separated from one another by a border of cypress leaves. The first figure in each wears a wide, flowing robe, a tiara, dagger, and girdle, and bears a long staff. M. Lassen is perfectly right in surmising

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<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, tablet 21. Ker Porter, tablet 37.

<sup>2</sup> Niebuhr, tablet 22. Ker Porter, tablets, 37-43.

these to be the so-called σκηπτούχοι of Xenophon, (*Cyropaedia*, 8, 3, 15 and 22), royal chamberlains, who had to conduct the deputations into the presence of the king. Their distinctive attire seems to indicate their rank. As to the persons ushered in by them, every division has its peculiar costume.<sup>1</sup> The second figure in each wears no clothing, but the others are distinguished by divers articles of dress which they wear or carry, or by their cattle, horses, and chariots. Spearmen do not seem to march before them, but they are carved above the steps of the staircase, one over each step. It has long been the unanimous opinion of antiquarians that these persons represent delegates who bring tribute from the provinces. Whether this was on some peculiar occasion, such as New Year's Day, the birthday of the king, or the like, cannot be ascertained. On the eastern and western extremities of this wall is also represented the lion attacking a fabulous beast.

After mounting upstairs, you come to a perron in a great portico, which is the chief attraction of the ruins of Persepolis and has given rise to the name of *Chihil-minār* or "Forty Columns." The centre of this portico was formed by a quadrangle of 36 columns, in 6 rows; three other groups of twelve columns, each in two rows, stand on the north, east, and west sides of this quadrangle, forming a vestibule and two side wings to the great hall. On the south side there is no such group. So there were, on the whole, 72 columns, the positions of which may still be recognized, but of which only thirteen are now erect. The columns are all of black marble, each having 32 flutes or channels. The height of each is 64 feet, that of the capital being 4.6 feet. The bases of the columns of the

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<sup>1</sup> According to Ménant. (p. 49), 15 to 16 descriptions of persons may be enumerated, who are distinguished by the articles of dress, &c., which they seem to be offering as tribute.

central hall differ from those of the apartments standing close to it. The floor of this part of the palace consisted of large marble slabs. M. Lassen is probably right in supposing that this great hall must have been a vestibule, not a presence-chamber, as was formerly believed. Its splendour was intended only to increase the awe of those who were to be admitted to an interview. This portico occupies two-thirds of the second platform, whereof it forms the principal edifice. Continuing towards the south you come to a third terrace requiring a further ascent of ten feet. The building upon it had two façades, one to the north, the other to the west, the principal staircase leading up on the western side. The walls surrounding the base of this terrace were also decorated with sculptures and contained an inscription of Xerxes in three languages (Ca), recording that the edifice (G. in Niebuhr) had been erected by Darius I. ; nevertheless we believe that it was finished by Xerxes I. This inscription is again repeated on a column at the top of the staircase. This edifice is, likewise, in ruins ; but isolated walls with windows, doors, and door-posts are still erect, since they were made of blocks too huge to be easily removed by modern Persians. It is 170 feet long and 95 feet broad, and contains three apartments ; a great hall in the middle and two apartments attached to it by doors on the north and south sides. Excavations have shown that its roof was supported by 16 columns, there being in the northern vestibule 8 columns in two rows. The effigies carved in this edifice are of great interest. The northern and southern walls of the great hall exhibit again the image of the king, over whom hovers the image of Ahura Mazda.<sup>1</sup> On the eastern and western walls of the same hall we find a human figure—no doubt the king—fighting against various monsters ; the same sculpture also

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<sup>1</sup> [This image, I believe, represents only the *Fravashi* or the guardian spirit of the personage over whom it hovers.—*Tr.n.*]

represents a hero who has seized a lion and is thrusting a dagger into the heart of the animal.

Over several of the portals we find the image of the king, walking, habited in a long robe, with wide sleeves, its flowing skirts reaching to the ankles, high shoes, a sceptre in one hand, and a cup or a flower in the other. Two servants, much shorter than the king himself, hold above him an umbrella and a fly-flap. A short inscription (B), over the image in three languages, informs us that the king represented there is Darius I. On the straight cap as well as on the breast, hands, and shoulders, are holes in which, probably, ornaments of gold or precious stones were once fastened. The same image is also exhibited over a second portal. But here the king holds in the left hand a drinking vessel, in the right one a kettle. Near the side-doors to the south and west there are figures of spearmen, and round the windows runs a short inscription (L), which is repeated eighteen times in this part of the palace, having the Persian text on top, the Scythian on the left, and the Assyrian on the right. It must also be mentioned that on the western staircase there is an inscription of Artaxerxes III., which may be clearly accounted for from the changes which that king must have made in the palace of Darius. It is generally agreed that the building contained apartments, intended to be used by the king for ordinary purposes. This is also suggested by the bas-reliefs executed on the walls of its staircase, which again represent persons bearing other gifts than those already named above—a lamb, a melon, &c., in short, whatever is requisite for domestic use.

On one side of this edifice, about 82 yards towards the west, there are some indistinct traces of another structure, that seems to have stood quite on the top of the terrace. Herein the inscription (P) of Artaxerxes III. is repeated. We also observe some vestiges of another inscription in Assyrian cuneiform characters, which dates

from Artaxerxes I. Perhaps that king had laid the foundation of the structure, which was afterwards finished by Artaxerxes III. Here bas-reliefs are in a good state of preservation. There are figures of persons bearing tribute including ivory which must probably have come from Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

On the third terrace there are again some other considerable, though now very ruinous, edifices, to which stairs lead up. A great staircase may have formerly existed here, but no traces thereof are now to be seen. Along the walls of the staircase there are sculptured figures resembling those of the second platform. Above hovers the symbol of Ahura Mazda which, however, is not now quite distinct, and an inscription of Xerxes (Ea), which is elsewhere repeated (Eb). Of the two buildings in this part of the terrace, one (H) has been so completely destroyed, that little can be said about it. A second edifice (I) connected with the former by a sculptured passage is very similar to the structure (G) described above. It consists of a hall, close to which stands on the north side an apartment equal to it in length. This hall contains as many as 36 columns, and had on two sides similar apartments, each one having three partitions. Here, too, you will see sculptured figures. Here, also, the king is represented walking, followed by two attendants holding above him the fly-flap and the umbrella. The inscription over the head of the king (C) records that he is Xerxes I.; his name is also engraved in several places on his robe. Xerxes seems to have been taller than his father; both these figures deserve a still more accurate study. That these buildings were used for domestic purposes, is quite evident from their sculpture. With these two edifices ends the palace towards this side. On the southern wall of this platform there are four inscriptions,

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Herodotus III. 97, and Méнант, p. 64.

which may be read from the plain below, and which deviate from the common arrangement. Two of these contain Persian texts, viz., the two important inscriptions (H) and (I). The other tablets contain each a Scythian and an Assyrian text, not mere translations of the Persian text, as is commonly the case, but each of them an independent inscription. The Scythian one states that Darius erected the palace, and that no one had ever built there before.<sup>1</sup> We admit, therefore, the certainty that Darius himself had raised the palace of Persepolis, which was afterwards completed by his successors. The Assyrian text is independent too, but adds nothing new to our knowledge.

Having surveyed all the portions of the palace of Persepolis, which lie on the western side of the platform, we return to the gate of entrance to take a view of the remaining ones, which lie in a natural depression of the terrace towards the eastern side, and may, therefore, be reached without any staircase. On turning away from the main entry to the east, we soon reach the remains of the portico (O), evidently leading from the principal gate to an edifice (L), which must have been the largest of all the buildings in Persepolis, for it measures 300 feet from north to south, and  $247\frac{1}{2}$  feet from west to east. Formerly, this portico seems to have been a vestibule consisting of 16 columns. At the entrance there once stood two colossal beasts, the pedestals of which are still remaining, like those at the main gateway. The structure itself consisted of one large and single hall, the ceiling of which seems to have been supported by 100 columns in ten rows. It contains no inscriptions; only the front and southern walls are richly adorned with sculpture. Near the door the king is represented,<sup>2</sup> sitting on a throne, with his feet resting on a footstool, while behind him stands a eunuch with the fly-flap

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<sup>1</sup> Ménant, pp. 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Niebuhr, tablet 29. Ker Porter, tablet 45, b.

in his right hand, and a piece of cloth in the left. Behind him stands an armour-bearer with sword and bow, and another holding a spear. Before the footstool are deposited vessels for burning incense, behind which stands a person with his hand held up to his mouth, probably an envoy who has been admitted into the royal presence. Beneath the throne stand forty guards in four rows, their faces looking inwards toward the central throne. Above the king hovers a figure, which, no doubt, represents Ahura Mazda. On the right and left sides of this symbol are three animals; but it is not determined whether they are intended to represent dogs, bulls, or lions. All these rows are divided by borders studded with roses. A similar likeness of the king is found at the southern door lying opposite.<sup>1</sup> The throne is not surrounded by body-guards but there are fourteen men of various nationalities, who seem to support it. Behind the king is only an eunuch with a fly-flap, but no figure stands before him. Since the king is represented twice at each door, this image appears four times on each wall. At the doors of the eastern and western walls are again effigies of combats with fabulous beasts. That we have in this edifice the real presence-hall of Darius is unquestioned, and M. Niebuhr<sup>2</sup> has ingeniously remarked that it is not without some purpose that we here find Darius always represented in a sitting attitude, not walking as in the structure (G). Sideways from this edifice (L), nearer to (G), there is an immense pile of ruins. Among these ruins, which form the remains of a considerable building, are seen 5 stones  $21\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, covered with sculpture. They form the door-posts and part of the side-walls of a dilapidated building, which M. Lassen believes to be the hall of judgment. On each side of the entrance is the figure of the king, walking with two attendants; on the walls,

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<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, tablet 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Niebuhr, "Travels," p. 148.



however, he is represented sitting in state on his throne, which is borne by divers persons. Behind the king stands a dignitary dressed nearly like him. Finally, the last building towards the south on this platform (K), contains a hall similar to the one described above. Though without side-chambers, still it has another hall in front. No inscription informs us of its use; but on the walls we observe the king represented at one time as walking, and at another seated with his companions, and again we see the combats with fabulous beasts. Nothing can be stated as to the purposes of this building, and the hypothesis of Sir R. Ker Porter, that the sacred fire was here preserved, cannot be supported by any evidence.

These are the structures which constituted the great palace of Persepolis. We must add that the whole was liberally supplied with aqueducts, regarding which more accurate evidence is, nevertheless, wanting. That part of the castle which lay to the western side of the platform, and which was accessible by means of staircases, was probably occupied by the king and his family; whilst those buildings which were situated lower down, and faced the east, must have been intended for public occasions. Guests were probably not admitted within the castle; suitable buildings for their accommodation in the neighbourhood were certainly not wanting at the time when the Persian kings kept court at Persepolis.

The remaining relics of Persepolis consist of three *dakhmas*, which are hewn in the side of the mountain towards which leans the terrace on which the castle stood. The first of these sepulchres lies to the east of the palace (L), the second only 400 paces further southward, the third a quarter of a league more to the south; but the last was never finished. These sepulchres are cut half-way up the mountain-wall, about 300 feet above the level of the plain. Here the wall was cut smooth for the purpose. The façade had four pilasters projecting 8 inches from the

wall. On both sides of these columns stand 6 spearmen in three tiers one above another. Between the two middle columns is a door cut three inches deep. It was, indeed, an apparent door, since there was no real entrance through it. The shafts of the columns are crowned with the heads of double-bulls. Between these heads is the quadrangular head of a beam hewn in stone. On the columns rests an entablature, on which are represented the figures of 18 dogs or lions, 9 on each side, running in opposite directions, but separated in the middle by a lotus-flower. In the middle of this entablature a figure is seen raising one hand and holding a bow in the other. It is, no doubt, another likeness of a king. He stands before a fire-altar, over him soars the God Ahura Mazda. The other sepulchres have quite similar decorations, with some differences of detail too unimportant to be noticed. None of them was intended to be opened from the front; and we do not know in what way dead bodies were brought in. These *dakhmas* have now all been opened, though forcibly and in recent times; they are found to contain catafalques intended for the reception of biers. These catafalques are partly still in existence, and the marble, of which they are made, seems to have been brought there from distant places, since it is different from the mountain rock itself.

That none of these *dakhmas* in the so-called "Mountain of Sepulchres" near Persepolis belonged to the founder of the castle, the first Darius, might be inferred from an account of Ctesias, who states (*Pers.* 18), that Darius I. had, in his life-time, his *dakhma* constructed *in the double mountain* (ἐν τῷ διπλῷ ὄρει); he wished to visit it himself, but was restrained from doing so by the Chaldeans and his parents. His parents, however, actually visited the *dakhma*, but fell down and died, because the priests who drew them up to it, at the sight of some serpents, let go the ropes from terror. Now, this *dakhma* of Darius has actually been found. It is situated about a

league north of the village which stands on the site of the ancient Istakhr.<sup>1</sup> There we see, over against the rising sun, a rock of white marble, about 200 paces in length, called Naqsh-i-Rustem by the natives; and in it we find four *dakhmas* at nearly equal heights of from 60 to 70 feet above the level of the plain. They are of similar architecture. The only inscription to be found belongs to the third, which we shall describe somewhat in detail instead of all the others. The base, the entrance, and the *dakhma* above it, give to the whole monument the form of a cross. The entrance does not differ from that of the sepulchres of Persepolis. Here also we see columns with heads of double-bulls, and between the two central columns is the shape of a door,<sup>2</sup> but the real opening, which is below, is a quadrangular aperture of 4 feet 6 inches in length. Above the frieze is the representation of a catafalque in two tiers borne by two rows of persons (14 in each row). On the top of the catafalque stands the king with his right hand raised and a bow in his left. He stands before the fire-altar; between him and the fire appears Ahura Mazda hovering above, and a ball which is certainly meant to represent the Sun or Mithra. In the frame which surrounds this catafalque, stand six persons on each side of the king—on the right side men armed with spears, apparently bodyguards, on the left persons who are supposed to represent mourners. Above some of the latter are short inscriptions indicating who they are. At the left of the king stands *Gaubarūva* (Gobryas), the lance-bearer of the king; below him *Aspaçanā*,<sup>3</sup> his arrow or bridle-keeper. Above one of the bearers of the royal throne is cut a name which may be *Macya*.<sup>4</sup> Side by side with this image are inscriptions in

<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, vol. I. pp. 516 *seq.* Niebuhr, II. pp. 155 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ker Porter, plate 17.

<sup>3</sup> [Aspithanes, the quiver-bearer of Darius I.]

<sup>4</sup> [Probably the Matienans mentioned by Herodotus, VII. 72].

three different languages.<sup>1</sup> The first of these inscriptions consists of 60 lines (commonly known as N.R. a); it is the real epitaph of Darius I., and consequently of later date than the other inscriptions; the second, which is beneath the other (N.R. b), has been so mutilated by the fanaticism of the Mohammedans, that, except the beginning, it is no longer possible to decipher its contents.

Not far from Naqsh-i-Rustem, near the village Hâjiâbâd, are the ruins of a considerable edifice of the time of the Achaemenidae, but which has suffered too much injury to be now accurately traced. A column of great beauty is still standing; similar ones lie broken and scattered about. They are popularly known as the throne of Jamshid.<sup>2</sup> Two buildings seem to have occupied the site. Still nearer to Naqsh-i-Rustem, and only about 35 paces distant from the first sepulchre, stands to this day a mysterious edifice resembling a tower, likewise belonging to the Achaemenidae.<sup>3</sup> It was built in the form of a square, with edges projecting like pilasters, each side 22 feet 8 inches long and now about 35 feet high. The marble-blocks laid one above the other, each  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height, formed ten (according to others fifteen) layers. The length of each marble-block is very great, so that there are never more than two of them, though varying in length, making up the entire length of each side of the tower. The architrave consists of a single colossal marble-block 22 feet 8 inches long, prettily decorated with small beam-like extremities and quadrangular niches. The tower is walled in on all sides and has only towards the north a door 6 feet high, and 5 feet wide, surrounded by plainly decorated marble pillars. In the interior there is only one

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<sup>1</sup> Since the statements of different writers contradict one another, we cannot venture to determine its position. Comp. Rawlinson, "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. X. p. 289, note.

<sup>2</sup> Ker Porter, vol. I. pp. 514 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 562.

quadrilateral chamber with four sides, 12 feet by 12, and 15 to 16 feet high. What purpose it served cannot now be made out. Finally, we ascribe also to the period of the Achaemenidae the two fire-altars standing near one another,<sup>1</sup> in the neighbourhood of the Naqsh-i-Rustem bas-reliefs, where the rock first turns towards the north, and then forms an amphitheatre extending towards the west. They stand on the same platform, are made of huge rocks, and have a height of from 12 to 14 feet.

As to the monuments of the Achaemenidae outside Persepolis, we need but mention them briefly, since they have not, as specimens of art, the same importance as the mighty castle of Persepolis. The monument of Behistān, celebrated for its inscription, stands likewise on a rock, which rises nearly perpendicular from the plain to a height of 1,700 feet. Besides the inscriptions, there are also seen on this rock sculptures at such a height as to have been quite secure from mutilation by the Mohammedans, while they are perfectly visible from the plain. The Persian text of the inscription contains 416 lines (four columns containing 95 lines each and the fifth only 36). There are also Scythian and Assyrian translations, which render the text accurately on the whole, with slight characteristic additions here and there. In the middle of these inscriptions stands a bas-relief representing a scene in which king Darius is the conspicuous figure, which can easily be recognized. He wears the crown on his head, has his right hand raised and his left holding a bow. Behind him stand two dignitaries, of whom the one carries a bow, and the other a lance. The king is setting his foot on a prisoner lying on the ground. Before him stand nine persons with their hands tied behind them and all bound together by means of a rope. Short inscriptions inform us who is the person represented in each case. Above the whole scene hovers

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<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 566,

Ahura Mazda in the form in which he is commonly symbolized. Of the meaning of the whole scene we are sufficiently informed by the longer inscription. The captives are rebels, who were defeated and executed by Darius I., against whom they had revolted. No edifice in the neighbourhood of the inscription gives us any clue to the reason why Darius was induced to set just here the chief of his inscriptions; moreover, the beauty of its environment has attracted all spectators, and Ctesias describes the mountain (Comp. Diodorus, 2, 13) under the name of *Bagistānon*,<sup>1</sup> and erroneously ascribes the monuments on it to Semiramis. But the mountain was, he says, sacred to Zeus. The locality is well adapted to the planting of a park. It is, therefore, not improbable that Darius had here a park and a villa, where he resided when he sojourned in Media. Perhaps the memory of the defeat of the Median rebel Fravartis, which may have taken place not far from here, induced the king to immortalize his deeds on the very spot. There is yet a second monument of the Achaemenidae in Media, on Mount Alvend. It belongs both to Darius I. and his son Xerxes. Since the later kings are said to have dwelt on Mount Alvend, it might perhaps be supposed that their predecessors did so likewise; but such a hypothesis is not supported by the site of the inscription itself, for the way to the inscription-tablets leads from Hamadān through a mountain defile now called Abbāsābād. It is watered by a mountain-torrent and well cultivated at first, but it soon grows wild and lonely, until you come at last to a waterfall which dashes down a rocky wall of red marble. On the southern side of this marble-wall there are two niches, and in them the two inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, generally known as (O) and (F). Of an inscription, which

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<sup>1</sup> *Bagistānon*, i. e. the resort of the Deity, is the original form of the modern name Behistān, of which the form Behistun, often used, is a mere corruption, occurring as early as in Yāqūt.

Darius caused to be cut on his Egyptian canal we have spoken already before.<sup>1</sup> It is composed in four languages and there are several repetitions, but unfortunately it is not in a good state of preservation.

Nor is the last monument of the two Achaemenian kings so often named, which is found in the remote north, near the town of Van in Armenia, without interest. It proves that Darius I. as well as Xerxes I. must have resided there. An inscription of Xerxes in three languages (K) stands on a steep rocky wall, which rises directly from the plain near Van, and which is now crowned by a Turkish fortress. The inscription is engraved where the rock is steepest, about 60 feet above the ground, but the characters are so beautiful and distinct that they can be read without difficulty from the plain. The inscription tells us that Darius I. here erected several magnificent palaces (*stāna*), and had also fixed upon a place for an inscription, which he had not caused to be executed during his life-time. It was only Xerxes, who, after his accession to the throne, ordered an inscription to be engraved there.

Since it was probably Darius I., who transferred the residence of the Achaemenidae from Persepolis to Susa, we should expect to find monuments of his activity principally in the latter town. But here the ravages of time have spared none of his buildings, nor any of those which preceded the Persian conquest; for we know that the Susa here mentioned, must be the very ancient town which had, already before the foundation of the Persian empire, sustained many a siege under the Assyrian kings. The place

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<sup>1</sup> [*Vide* Spiegel, *E.A.* vol. III. p. 665: "Nor is the completion of the Egyptian Canal, the construction of which was begun by Ramses II., continued by Necho, but finished as far as the Red Sea by Darius, of less importance. Near this canal there are several sculptured monuments with hieroglyphic and cuneiform characters, amongst which stands an inscription of Darius in Old Persian." *Tr. n.*]

where it once stood, has been discovered by the English traveller, Mr. Loftus.<sup>1</sup> According to him, it lay between the Kerkha and the Dizful, in a level country where the distance between these two rivers diminishes to two English miles and a half. The ruins of this town lie about three-fourths of an English mile distant from the Kerkha, and about one mile and a half from the Dizful. During the period of its prosperity artificial canals must have supplied the necessary water, at the same time adding to its military strength. The dilapidated structures on the hills of Susa can by no means be compared with the grandeur of the ruins of Persepolis. Nevertheless Mr. Loftus has succeeded in finding among its remains the ruins of a palace, totally destroyed, which had some resemblance to the palace of Persepolis, like which it also stood on a high terrace. Traces of its columns are still seen rising on a façade of 330 feet in length, the breadth of the building being 264 feet. In the middle there is a group of 36 columns in six rows, evidently the remains of a pillared hall of the kind common in Persepolis. Here also the bases of the columns are not everywhere similar; those of the principal hall are quadrangular, the others round, while the capitals were, it seems, of the same description as in Persepolis, but more elaborate and more like their models in wood. Four columns of the principal hall bore the Persepolis inscriptions in three languages; whereof the Persian text faced the south, the Scythian the west, the Assyrian the east. Although they have been much injured, yet antiquarians have succeeded in deciphering easily the Persian text (S). These inscriptions were engraved by order of Artaxerxes II. and record that the edifice (*apadana*) was founded by Darius I., continued by Artaxerxes I., and finished by Artaxerxes II. Close to it there seems to have been

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Loftus' "Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana," pp. 342 *seq.*



erected a temple dedicated to Anāhita, as we find in several parts of the ruins a number of images of that *yazata* in *terra cotta*.

Besides architectural monuments, whatever antiquities we possess of the age of the Achaemenidae, are limited to some vases and seals bearing inscriptions in cuneiform characters. One of the seals probably belonged to Darius I. The vases come from Egypt and bear the name of Xerxes in four languages (Egyptian, Persian, Scythian, and Assyrian).

We shall conclude our examination of the works of art belonging to this epoch with some general observations. Notwithstanding the long time that has elapsed since the destruction of these old palaces, their outlines have still been preserved. This is owing to the fact that the Achaemenian princes employed, in their architecture, particularly stone, and not wood or brick, as was generally the custom in Assyria and Babylon. A peculiarity of these palaces consists in their splendid staircases leading from one storey to another. It is remarkable that the Persians are the only people of antiquity, who knew how to make architectural use of staircases. Moreover, it might be regarded as a defect in these structures that the floor is quite superfluously overloaded with columns, and further that the capitals of these columns followed too strictly their wooden originals.<sup>1</sup> Among the bas-reliefs, the pictures of the king, sitting and walking, furnish a useful supplement to the descriptions of the ancients. We learn from them that the umbrella and fly-flap were already in olden times looked upon as emblems of royalty, and it is very probable that they may have been imported from India. The Avesta never speaks of these two insignia; while in the Book of Kings the umbrella has an Indian name (چتر), and even in one

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<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, I. pp. 189, 199.

passage of the text it is expressly styled Indian. Further, we may conclude from these sculptures that the royal throne of Persia was not covered with cushions, but that it was simply a chair quite similar to the royal chairs used in Europe. In this, as well as in other points, it is shown that Old-Irānian art is closely allied to Assyrian art which is more modern.<sup>1</sup> The throne of Darius is, indeed, very similar to that of Sennacherib;<sup>2</sup> nevertheless, these two kings have very little resemblance in other respects. While Sennacherib leans on the bow in his right hand, holding two arrows in his left, the Persian king has in his right hand a staff, which has long since been acknowledged to be a sceptre, and in his left he holds an object that has been variously explained as a cup, or a lotus, or a nosegay. The last explanation seems to me the most probable, since, in later descriptions, we find the king represented as holding a quince in his hand. On the sepulchral monuments as well as on the sculptured rock of Behistān, we have observed king Darius holding a bow in his hand. The Parthian kings are likewise said to have held a bow while giving audience. In the image of Ahura Mazda the type of Assyrian art is still more apparent than in the figure of the king. Ahura Mazda is commonly represented in the form of a man having the tiara on his head. He is surrounded by a circle, to which are attached outspread wings. In some places the human figure is wanting, and the circle with the wings alone suffices for the symbol of the Supreme Being. Nor is such an emblem originally Irānian; it is found frequently in ancient monuments in Egypt, but especially in Assyria, where the god Assur is exhibited in similar form.<sup>3</sup> Thus the idea of representing Ahura Mazda is of

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<sup>1</sup> Vaux, "Niniveh and Persepolis," p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the illustration in Ménant, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Ménant, p. 87.

foreign origin, for the Persians could not consistently represent Him, as they regarded any attempt to picture the Deity as folly. The same dependence upon Assyrian art is shown also in the colossal figures of animals, which adorned the portals of the Achaemenian kings, the models of which have been discovered particularly among the ruins of Khorsābād. I am inclined, however, to believe that on the Assyrian model was grafted an Irānian idea, though foreign to the original type. Perhaps the Persian colossal beasts were intended to represent Mithra and the Sun-horses, for the Irānians venerated their king as the representative of Mithra on earth. Much perplexity has always been caused by these fabulous beasts, which are seen sculptured in the various halls of the palace of Persepolis, as being on the point of fighting with some person, probably the king. In one place we see the king seizing such an animal by its horns and thrusting a dagger into its breast. The body of the animal itself seems to have been made up of different parts of various beasts. It has the head of an eagle. Half its back is covered with feathers. It is standing erect and laying its forefeet on the right arm and breast of the king. No less remarkable is a second beast; its head seems to be that of a wolf, the forepart of the body and the forefeet belong to a lion, the hindfeet to an eagle. Its body is mostly covered with feathers, while its tail resembles that of a scorpion. In a third place the king is seen to raise a lion-cub from the ground and to fondle it. A fourth beast has a horn on its forehead, a collar round its neck, and hoofs like those of a horse or bull. But it is without wings, while its long tail ends in a tuft of hair. In all these pictures the king constantly appears in the same calm attitude. At one time these beasts have been thought to be fabulous animals, at another people have sought to explain them from the Avesta, though without success. Here also the Persian figures are apparently

connected with Babylonian models;<sup>1</sup> however, it is my conviction that these are not mere hunting scenes, the fabulous beasts are incompatible with such a theory. Here also, I believe, Irānian ideas underlie symbols of foreign origin, and M. Lassen may be right in considering these fabulous beasts to be monsters corresponding to those mentioned in the inscription (H)—personified evils and vices suppressed without any difficulty by the king's just government.

It has already been stated above that the history of the development of Irānian art shows a gap, which begins with the last period of the Achaemenidae and ends with the rise of the Sassanidae. So we are, for a space of six centuries, without any information about Irānian art; nevertheless, following Mr. G. Rawlinson's example,<sup>2</sup> we venture here to give a description of the ruins of Hathra. We cannot, it is true, assert with certainty, yet we may suppose with probability, that they belong to the period of the Arsacidae. The town of Hathra did not lie in the Parthian territory properly so-called; still it had its own kings who were tributary to the Parthians. The town was well fortified and we know that Trajan as well as Severus failed to capture it; however, it cannot have long survived the dynasty of the Arsacidae. When Ammianus Marcellinus (25, 8, 5), visited the spot in 363 A.D., he found the town in ruins; and it may, therefore, be true, as some of the Oriental writers relate, that Hathra was destroyed under Shapur I. So this town, whose ruins still exist, must have been destroyed in the first half of the third century A.D. The ruins of Hathra are about an English mile in diameter.<sup>3</sup> They are surrounded by a nearly circular wall

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ménant, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> "The Sixth Monarchy," pp. 372 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> With the following compare Ross, "Journey from Baghdād to Al Hadhr" in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. IX. pp. 467 *seq.*; and also Fergusson, vol. I. pp. 378 *seq.*

of considerable thickness, the strength of which was further increased by towers erected at intervals of 60 paces. Outside the wall is a deep trench, which is now dry, and beyond this ditch is again a thick wall. The space inclosed within them is divided by a channel, running from north to south, into two unequal halves, the larger half lying on the western, the smaller on the eastern side. The latter does not seem to have been inhabited, and was, I believe, used as a burial-ground. But towards the west there are heaps of ruins, among which those in the middle of the circle are the most considerable. They seem to belong to a palace and a temple,<sup>1</sup> and lie in a space inclosed by walls, forming an oblong quadrangle 800 feet long and 700 broad. The principal edifice seems to have had its entrance from the east, with a small wing lying on the west. It contained four small and three large chambers, and a room behind one of the large and three of the small ones. The large halls are 60 feet high, 90 feet long, and 35 to 40 paces broad. They seem to have been vaulted but had no windows, only receiving light by means of the seven great doors leading into the edifice. The outside of the chief façade is decorated with pillars on which are carved heads of men and women. Between the fourth and fifth doors stands a gryphon. The inside of the small apartments (30 ft. long and 20 ft. broad) has no decorations whatever. In the large chambers, however, are seen pillars ornamented at both ends, and two or three feet below the ceiling an ornamental border running all round, with two or three human heads carved beneath it.<sup>2</sup> The palace, like almost all the structures in that town, is built of limestone. The temple itself seems to have been surrounded by a vaulted passage

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<sup>1</sup> Not a temple, but a staircase, according to Fergusson (vol. I. p. 379).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the illustration in Ross.

into which light entered through two windows. The gate of this temple had a fine frieze bearing, I believe, a religious significance; the interior is without any decoration. It is probable, though uncertain, that this edifice had formerly an upper storey. The whole seems to have some resemblance to the Tāq-i-Kesra, mentioned in Ktesiphon. Perhaps the Parthian palace, which was destroyed by the Romans, was similar in appearance. The ruins of Hathra lead us to assume that it was built entirely after a Roman model. Nevertheless, its execution is so clumsy that we cannot possibly suppose that it was erected under the superintendence of a Roman architect.<sup>1</sup>

To the Parthian period are also attributed, with great probability, some bas-reliefs, which M. Bode has discovered in Susiana. They are seen in Teng-i-Salek in the province of Bakhtiāris. A group of 15 persons is arranged in two rows. The first person in each row is sitting, the rest are standing. They surround a figure, which appears to represent a Magus, and which is comparatively in a state of good preservation. It wears trowsers, and over them an upper garment with sleeves and a knot over the breast, a pointed cap on the head, and a beard on its chin and upper lip. Besides, it wears plaited hair, which specially points to the Arsacian and Sassanian periods, whilst the more ancient and graceful arrangement of the hair in curls is Median (Xen. *Cyrop.* I. 32).<sup>2</sup> The figure has its left hand on its breast, the right one is raised, beside it stands on a stone—some object formed like a sugar-loaf—adorned with garlands and ribbons. To the same period, likewise, pertains a second bas-relief, representing a rider in his long garment, just as he pierces with a spear an animal, probably a bear, rushing against him, while he

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<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Fergusson.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, too, speaks of the long hair of the Persians (VI.19).

holds a bow in his left hand. Here also appears under the tiara the rich hair characteristic of later times. On the same rock we observe also a third bas-relief, which seems to picture a woman reposing on a couch and holding in her hand a garland. Her rich hair is dressed in the ordinary manner; beside her stand three men, one without weapons by her couch, and two others at her feet holding spears. That these bas-reliefs really belong to the Parthian period cannot positively be determined. More doubtful still is the question regarding another monument yet undescribed. The rock of Behistān contains, along with the inscriptions of Darius I., also a bas-relief of more recent date, but greatly damaged.<sup>1</sup> We can here make out another group of riders armed with lances, one of whom is crowned with an image of the Goddess of Victory. This bas-relief has been ascribed to the Parthian period, because of a Greek inscription, which is no less mutilated than the whole monument, but of which the following words can still be read distinctly:—ΑΛΦΑΣΑΤΗΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΤΗΣΠΕΓ (*ALPHASATES MITHRATESPEG*) and further down the words:—ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠ (*GŌTARZES SATRAPES TŌN SATRAP*) and quite at the end: ΓΩΤΑΡΣΗΣ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ (*GŌTARSES GEOPOTHROS*). As regards Alphasates, I am at one with Mr. G. Rawlinson in assuming that we should regard it as another form of the name Arpakhshad.<sup>2</sup> But if from the name of Gōtarzes it might be concluded that that inscription owes its origin to the Arsacian king of that name, I cannot assent to such an opinion; for the Gōtarzes mentioned above does not call himself Great-King, but "Satrap of the Satraps," a title, which though otherwise uncommon, is identical with the Greek *σατράπης μεγιστάνων* ("the Satrap of the Chiefs"), which

<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, vol. II. pp. 151 *seq.* Rawlinson, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. IX. p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rawlinson, *ibid.*, vol. IX. p. 111.

is assumed by Behrām Chōbin (Theophyl. 4, 7). The Arsacian Gōtarzes is, further more, a son to Artabanus III.; and the concluding words of the inscription can, therefore, only imply that this Gōtarzes was a son of Geo, *i. e.* Gév. Now in the Book of Kings, Gév is really the son and not the father of Gudarz, which proves that the inscription does not, indeed, refer to the Gudarz of the legend. But, since the two names occur rather frequently, there may have been a Gōtarzes, whose father was named Gév. And since it was also the custom of the Sassanian kings to engrave their bas-reliefs side by side with the Achaemenian monuments, I am so much the more inclined to transfer this bas-relief to the period of the Sassanidae, as Mr. G. Rawlinson has also found similar Sassanian architectural monuments in its neighbourhood. As regards the use of the Greek language in this case, it is well known that even on the monuments of the first Sassanidae we meet with Greek inscriptions.

More doubtful still is a bas-relief found near Holván. It represents a rider to whom a garland is being presented by a man standing near him. Beside it is engraved rather a long inscription in unknown characters, which have not yet been deciphered, and so no definite opinion can possibly be formed about it. The same is the case with regard to the bas-reliefs seen by M. Ferrier in the country of the Aimaks and the Hazâres, the date of which will surely be determined by future investigations. To various ancient relics found in Warka and Niffer,<sup>1</sup> such as biers, vessels of glass or clay, etc., a Parthian origin has been ascribed; but here also the matter is not decided.

Our position becomes somewhat more satisfactory when we turn to the Sassanian period; however, its palaces and bas-reliefs cannot be considered collectively like those of the Achaemenian epoch, because they are scattered over

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Layard, "Niniveh and Babylon," p. 558. Loftus, "Chaldea and Susiana," pp. 202, 214.



different places. Of the Sassanian buildings so few have survived, that we cannot say much regarding architectural development in their time. The reason may be, that the Sassanidae were not peculiarly inclined to erect great edifices, or perhaps that their palaces lay, for the most part, in the low country near the Tigris, and so may have been mostly built of brick. The Sassanidae had, indeed, adopted the models exhibited in the buildings of Hathra,<sup>1</sup> yet in course of time such very considerable changes were introduced, that a perfectly new style arose among them. The large tunnel-like halls of Hathra were retained, but they only served for entrances. The separating walls were pierced by lofty arches, and so was formed a row of chambers. Furthermore, the Sassanidae knew how to adorn their halls with cupolas. Their buildings are always oblong quadrangles, with great doors in the middle, which form the chief entrance, and are as broad as the halls to which they lead. The chambers are joined to one another without passages between, so that we can pass directly from one to the other. Each of the Sassanian palaces contains an interior court whence one can find entrance to all the rooms adjoining it. The depth of the buildings varies, being sometimes not much greater than the breadth, at others twice as great. In some cases the exterior wall, which, as a rule, contains several doors, has but a single entrance. The chief entrance, however, is always in the middle of the front; from it we can look into the entire edifice in the Tâq-i-Kesra to a depth of 115 feet. The cupolas or domes, which are numerous in these structures, are full of small apertures, which serve to admit light. In the walls there were also windows. The oldest and smallest of these palaces is that of Serbistân erected, according to Mr. Fergusson, in 350 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It is entered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fergusson, vol. I. pp. 382 *seq.*, and particularly G. Rawlinson, "The Seventh Monarchy," pp. 580 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fergusson, vol. I. p. 386.

by three deep tunnel-like openings between which there are groups of three semi-circular pilasters, each extremity having again a single pilaster. The length of the palace is 138 feet, the breadth 122 feet. The entrances face the west. Through them we reach the halls, of which the central one at the principal entrance has the least depth. Thence we enter the largest chamber, which is vaulted. On the other side of this large chamber there is a court upon which doors open from the various apartments. The large chamber leads also into halls towards the north and south.—The palace of Fîrûzâbâd, which must have been built, according to Mr. Fergusson, about 450 A.D., is larger. It is about 390 ft. long and 180 ft. broad; it has only one entrance, a large gate, which is about 50 feet high and faces the north. It leads first into a vaulted hall, 90 ft. long and 43 ft. broad. On each side there are two similar chambers, though smaller in size. We next enter through small but elegant doors three vaulted chambers which occupy the whole breadth of the edifice, each about 43 feet square, the vault rising 70 feet high. The door and false windows—the latter being intended only for ornament—point to the influence of the Persepolitan style. These vaulted chambers lead again into some smaller apartments and thence into a court 90 feet square, into which open again various apartments decorated on the inside with false windows, which, however, are executed far less skilfully than those in the vaulted chambers. The exterior of the palace was very prettily adorned by means of long narrow arches and long cylindrical pilasters. The whole has an appearance of stern simplicity, and is altogether less handsome than the smaller palace in Serbistân. The most spacious of the Sassanian palaces is the celebrated Taq-i-Kesra, the only surviving relic of the ancient Ktesiphon. The Oriental historiographers, who regard it as a marvel of splendour, sometimes ascribe it to Khosrav

I. and sometimes to Khosrav II. It was probably founded about 550 A.D., and, therefore, only begun under Khosrav I.<sup>1</sup> What remains of it, is a mere fragment, and it is impossible to restore the plan of the whole structure. The façade resembles that of the palace of Fīrūzābād, but is much more splendid, being 370 ft. broad and 105 ft. high. The remains still in existence compose the entrance and a vaulted hall, 72 ft. broad, 85 ft. high, and 115 ft. deep; and we might here assume that there likewise stood chambers on both sides as in the other palaces. A similar relic in Irān itself is the Takht-i-Bostān, which we shall describe below. Another Sassanian palace was unexpectedly discovered a short time ago at Mashita in the country of Moab.<sup>2</sup> It must have been erected by Khosrav II., about the time when this sovereign marched victorious to the neighbourhood of Byzantium, and it proves that this king strove to retain all the conquests he had then made. The whole palace is an extensive quadrangle of 500 ft. in each direction, but only the interior portion of about 170 feet square was completed. The palace was evidently intended to be a hunting-seat for the king near the edge of the desert. It is built of brick quite after the model of the other Sassanian palaces. A vaulted hall, which was formerly crowned by a cupola, forms the centre. There are also on each side eight chambers, with courts between them. The entrance lay on the north side, whence three vaulted doorways, separated only by columns of hard white stone, led into the building. The capitals of these columns are like those which came into fashion in the age of the Emperor Justinian, a circumstance which helps us to

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<sup>1</sup> According to Theophylactus (5, 6 *seq.*), Justinian sent to Khosrav I. Greek workmen as well as the materials for the erection of his palace.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. H. B. Tristram, "The Land of Moab" (London, 1873), pp. 195 *seq.* Mashita (مَشَا) means "winter-quarters."

determine the date of the edifice. A second building is separated from the first by a court of nearly 200 feet square; but it seems to have been intended for other purposes. Probably it contained rooms for the guards. The exterior of this palace is much more ornate than the other palaces of the Sassanidae, which evidently proves that Greek workmen were specially employed in building it, as was no doubt the case when the Sassanidae erected palaces within the limits of their own empire. The Book of Kings does not at all deny that Greek, as well as Indian workmen, were employed in constructing the Tâq-i-Kesra. We know that Khosrav I. carried off the finest works of art of Damascus into his own country, when that city was destroyed; so it is thereby acknowledged that Irānian artists could not vie with those of Greece.

We shall now consider the bas-reliefs of the Sassanidae, which we find for the most part in the neighbourhood of the Achaemenian monuments, a clear proof that the first Sassanidae were still very probably conscious of their connection with the older Southern Irānian dynasty. It is especially in Persis that we meet with monuments of that kind. If we pass from Murghāb to Persepolis, we find the first Sassanian monument in the valley of Hâjiābād, which is bounded on the western side by the rocks of Naqsh-i-Rustem. An English mile north of this village, we observe in a rocky cavern a long inscription of Shapur I., without any other monuments of art. These begin at first with Naqsh-i-Rustem itself. On the same rock on which the Achaemenian sepulchres are found, though only a little lower, we meet with six bas-reliefs of the Sassanian period, of which the first is seen after passing the easternmost sepulchre. The two principal figures face each other, and each holds a garland trimmed with ribbons.<sup>1</sup> According to more ancient drawings, the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 530, and the illustration, pl. 16.

ribbons are shown to have hung down over the figure of a child, which has now become quite indistinct. The person holding the garland with his right hand is the king, who wears a balloon-like cap with streaming ribbons, such as are often seen on coins. The hair of his head is rich and flowing, as is common with the Sassanidae. In his ear he wears a pearl. His wide garment is kept together by means of a girdle. The second figure has been variously explained as that of a woman or a eunuch. It wears a mural crown for head-dress with flowers and fluttering ribbons; the hair hangs down the shoulders in plaits. A third person behind the king, with a raised forefinger and a Phrygian cap, which appears to terminate in the head of a horse, is generally considered to be a servant. Some believe they recognize in the figure of the king a resemblance to the image of Vararan V. on his coins. Since Sir R. Ker Porter wrote, it has, therefore, been assumed that we have here a picture of this Vararan, and Sir George Ouseley also believes he has made out the name of that king in a long inscription which stands by the side of this bas-relief. As we not unfrequently meet with similar pictures, I must here remark that the garland or ring, appearing on these monuments, seems to me to be no other than what we observe, in the older monuments, in the hand of Ahura Mazda, possibly a symbol of the Empire of the Universe. Hence it follows that the second figure that holds the ring, may have been intended to represent a deity; for I do not believe that the Sassanidae were specially inclined to share the honour of their victories with any human creature. The person standing behind the king might also be regarded rather as a divine than a human being; it certainly represents a supernatural adviser.

On the second bas-relief is figured a combat,<sup>1</sup> in which

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<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, vol. I. p. 537 and pl. 20.

an Irānian king, perhaps the same as in the foregoing, pushes with his lance a retreating enemy before him. Behind the king is carried a standard. The ordinary supposition, that it represents the victory of Vararan V. over the sovereign of Tūrān, seems to me to be very uncertain.

The third bas-relief is one of the best known, and imitations of it are found elsewhere too.<sup>1</sup> It pictures an Irānian king crowned and on horseback. His left hand is laid on the pommel of his sword, while with his right he holds the hands, covered with sleeves, of a man standing near him. The latter wears the Roman costume. So, too, does a second figure, that kneels in a suppliant attitude before the king. The same figure appears again behind the king as in the first bas-relief. It is commonly believed that we have here the scene of the capture of the emperor Valerian by Shapur II., in which the kneeling figure is the emperor himself, while the one standing is Cyriades, who was put into his place. Since the same picture occurs again in the ruins of Shāpur and Dārābgerd, this supposition is to a certain extent probable.

The fourth bas-relief is much like the second;<sup>2</sup> but here the lance of the retreating adversary is broken. The crown of the king, which differs entirely from the ordinary shape, is of some interest.

In the fifth bas-relief there again appear two riders with the ring.<sup>3</sup> Here we find inscriptions, too, which inform us that the horseman, who wears the mural crown, is Ahura Mazda, and that the second one who receives the ring as the emblem of royalty, and behind whom stands a person with a fly-flap, is no other than Ardeshir I., the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. Beneath the feet of each rider

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<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, p. 540 and pl. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I. p. 544 and pl. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 548 and pl. 23.

lies a king, evidently dead. The one on the side of Ahura Mazda wears serpents instead of hair; he may be supposed to be a usurper.

Lastly, the sixth bas-relief pictures a king, standing on a kind of platform, with his nobles seated round him.<sup>1</sup>

Advancing further from the rock of Naqsh-i-Rustem in the direction of Persepolis, we come first to the inconsiderable ruins of Istakhr, the ancient capital of Irān, the strong citadel of which was built upon a mountain. According to Oriental opinion, the Sassanian kings were reluctant to build on the very ruins of their predecessors, and, therefore, established their new residence in their immediate neighbourhood. Between Istakhr and Chihilminār there is, on the sepulchral mountain of Persepolis, a roofless grotto cut in the rock, having its three walls on the north, south, and east covered with sculpture.<sup>2</sup> On the southern wall we find again a representation of the two riders holding a ring; but the engraving is not so skilful, and evidently executed by less practised hands. Besides Ahura Mazda and the king, all the other subordinate characters are here wanting. On the eastern wall we find a repetition of the scene including the attendants, but here the two principal characters are standing. On the northern wall we see the picture of a horseman together with his attendants on foot. The heads of the rider and of the horse have been effaced; but the inscriptions record that Shapur I. is here represented.

To Persis belong a few more bas-reliefs found by Sir R. Ker Porter in the neighbourhood of Shiraz.<sup>3</sup> One group consists of a woman holding her flowing veil in the left hand, and stretching out the right one to a person who is offering her a flower. As the latter wears no crown, I

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<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, p. 551 and pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 371, pl. 27. Niebuhr, pl. 32 A.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 706, pl. 57.

doubt whether it is the figure of the king or not. The image of the Sassanian king appears twice on the same wall, in the usual manner, but badly executed.

Finally, we must again mention here the ruins of the city named Shâpûr. They are six leagues distant from the town of Kâzerûn, on a mountain to the north, in a romantic neighbourhood. The ruins have a circumference of about two leagues. On a rising ground which is at right angles to the eastern side of the mountain, but quite isolated, are the ruins of a castle, which seems to have had mighty towers and walls covered with bas-reliefs of the Sassanian period. In the first we see the horsemen, already familiar to us, and a man lying prostrate at their feet. The figures are colossal, but are much damaged by time. Before one of the riders kneels a man in a supplicating posture. The second bas-relief is by far more important and is divided into nine panels. In the middle panel the king appears on horseback, wearing the Sassanian crown and the coiffure waving behind. Underneath the hoofs of his horse is again the outstretched corpse of a vanquished enemy. Before him kneels a man in Roman costume, while two figures stand behind, one of which is beardless and wears a Phrygian cap. The king is holding the hands of a man in Roman costume, while a winged genius hovers above him. Perhaps in earlier times there was also an inscription. In the second of the principal panels, which is to the left side of the middle one, are two divisions, each of which contains six figures on horseback, all raising the right hand and the fore-finger. They are the suite of the king, probably his counsellors. The third panel, on the right of the middle one, has six sub-divisions, each with three persons carrying various articles, which seem to be partly building implements, partly presents. These figures, like those of the middle panel, have a height of 5 ft. 9 inches, while the riders on the left of the king are only of about half this height. Some more bas-reliefs are



found on the opposite bank of a little river. Here we see, in a relief divided into five panels, the king in the midst, and represented, which is indeed exceptional, *en face*. He grasps with his left hand his sword; his right is stretched out. As to the two divisions on his right the characters in the uppermost tier raise their hands and fore-fingers; in the second are probably servants, one of whom holds a richly caparisoned horse by the bridle. On the left side of the king are two more rows of persons, the chief of whom carries two human heads, while a little boy clings to the skirt of his garment. The fourth panel again exhibits the images of two colossal riders holding the coronal ring, which are said to be particularly well executed. The fifth relief is a hunting-piece, but much damaged. We recognize in it the person of the king on horseback, with a bow and two arrows in his hand as well as the heads of men, horses, and camels.

A hundred steps further there is another relief cut in a concave form. Its subject seems to be very much the same as that of the second and third reliefs. The middle piece, which takes up the greatest space, exhibits the ordinary picture of the victorious king with a dead body lying at his feet, and the Roman kneeling by the side of his horse. But here we have beside the king a man in Sassanian costume, offering the coronal ring to the king. Farther to the right there stand, in the first row, a number of persons with folded arms; in the second and third rows persons carrying baskets, etc.; while in the corner is a man leading a lion by a chain. In the fourth row, directly opposite to the king, are six persons in loose plaited garments, who might, therefore, be supposed to be Indians. They carry various objects, or lead different animals, such as horses, elephants, &c. Amongst them we see men in Roman costume, and a chariot with two horses harnessed to it. On the left side there are five troops of riders, who are apparently the king's retinue. Finally, we have to mention

a finely constructed edifice which is a quarter of a league from the sixth relief. Near its entrance there formerly stood several sphinxes, some traces of which may still be recognized.

In Media, as in Persis, the Sassanian kings erected their monuments close to those of their ancestors. About two *farasangs* or four miles from Behistân, towards the town of Kirmânshâh, we still observe the scanty remains of a palace which Mr. G. Rawlinson ascribes to the Sassanians. Eight or nine bases and capitals are all that may still be seen; but the distance of the first of these ruinous bases from the last is about 300 paces, and it, therefore, seems that an edifice of considerable size must have previously stood here. On the same mountain tract, which contains the monuments of Darius, but farther to the west, towards Kirmânshâh, there are sculptured engravings which are now known by the name of Taq-i-Bostân, *i.e.*, the "Vault of the Garden," or also of Takht-i-Bostân, "Throne of the Garden." The romantic narratives of the modern Persians profess to give the name of the artist, to whom we owe these monuments. He is supposed to have been called Ferhâd and to have loved Shîrîn, the beautiful wife of Khosrav II. In her honour, it is said, Ferhâd executed these figures and erected the adjoining structures.—Here we must remark that the Book of Kings does not give the least hint of this romantic love-story,<sup>1</sup> which seems to have been invented in later times and without any historical foundation.—The carvings begin at a place where a limpid brook rushes forth from the rocky wall and flows into the river Kârâ-sû. Above this brook there is a relief called by the neighbouring people the "Relief of the Four Calenders."<sup>2</sup> It contains the figures of four men, one of whom lies prostrate on the ground. Over his head stands another figure wearing a mural crown surmounted with

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<sup>1</sup> The story is briefly related in the Persian Tabari (2, p. 298), and at length by Ker Porter (vol. II. pp. 179 *seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Ker Porter, vol. II. pp. 169, 191 *seq.* and pl. 66.

the ornamental ball, so common among the Sassanians, and a necklace of pearls and a diadem. The hair is thick. A light flowing garment is fastened together over the breast and a girdle goes round the waist. The others are similarly dressed. The second person wears a close-fitting helmet with the Sassanian ball, and four ribbons of unequal length fluttering behind. Both hold the well-known coronal ring; and, I believe, we do not err if we regard the first to be Ahura Mazda, and the second to be a Sassanian king. Behind the king we observe a person with a great halo round his head and a kind of sceptre in his hand, standing perhaps on a sun-flower. In my opinion the image represents Mithra, the guardian *yasata* of the royal family.<sup>1</sup>

Not far from the bas-relief just described, a staircase leads to a platform, whereon we discover the traces of a statue, which must formerly have stood there. The broken statue itself lies in the rivulet below and is the figure of a king. But the most precious monuments are engraved in two grottoes at the foot of the rock.<sup>2</sup> The larger one is 24 feet broad, 21 feet deep, and the vault is 50 feet high. The walls of the grotto are neatly polished. The entrance to the hall is through a vaulted gate, as is generally the case in Sassanian palaces. Over the arch there is a half-moon, on either side of which is a figure quite resembling an angel holding in the one hand the well-known coronal ring, in the other probably a goblet. Similar figures are also found on the Arsacian coins as well as on some Sassanian monuments. Perhaps the idea was borrowed from the old manner of representing Ahura Mazda. On entering through the doorway, we observe the colossal figure of a rider carved between two columns of the Corinthian style. It is clad in mail, extending from the face to the knees, and beneath it are indications of a richly embroidered garment. In the right hand is a shield, a heavy lance rests

<sup>1</sup> This image is also supposed to represent the Irānian Prophet.

<sup>2</sup> Ker Porter, vol. II. pp. 169 *seq.*, and the illustrations, pls. 62-64.

on the shoulder. The horse also is partly covered with armour. Here still exist traces of an inscription in the Irānian and Greek languages, but too indistinct to be deciphered. In the panel above the rider there are three figures; the middle one is richly clothed and apparently represents the king, wearing a crown with the ball or globe, and the rich plaited hair. Over his robe and trowsers, which seem to have been nicely embroidered, he wears a coat-of-mail, the left hand holding the hilt of his sword. On his left there is a female figure, likewise magnificently dressed, pouring water from a vessel in her hand. The figure on the right wears a diadem and a long beard, a mantle fastened over the breast hangs over its shoulders; it offers to the king the coronal circlet so often referred to. I do not doubt but that the female figure on the left represents Anāhita, and the figure on the right Mithra. The pictures on the side-walls of the grotto are easily explained. They are hunting scenes. On one of the reliefs the king is represented on horseback, armed with bow and arrows, while an umbrella is held over him. The king is pursuing a number of antelopes; the horsemen overtake them; and, a little farther on, the animals are seen slain. Behind the king is a company of musicians. In one of the lateral panels we behold a number of men riding on the backs of elephants, who drive the game towards the king; in the opposite panel we see camels carrying the slaughtered animals. On the second wall a boar-hunt is represented. The scene is apparently a lake, the banks of which are covered over with dense bushes and forests. Here also we see elephants endeavouring to force the boars across the midst of the lake, where there is, in a boat, a man much taller than the rest, and richly dressed, in the act of shooting at the approaching animals. A little farther off, in another boat, there is a second man similar to the former, but not so tall, having round his head a circle, which is supposed to represent a nimbus. I believe this is a two-

fold representation of the king. The second person is in the act of taking a bow from the hand of a servant; on his side stands a female harper. Female musicians are also seen in other boats. On the edge of the relief we see persons engaged in piling the boars, which have been slain, on the backs of elephants.

The second grotto is by far less spacious than the first.<sup>1</sup> It is only 19 ft. broad and 12 ft. deep; its exterior is not decorated. Opposite the entrance we see a bas-relief exhibiting two figures, both dressed quite alike; they wear crowns and the thick hair of the Sassanidae. Their costume is not particularly handsome; but they wear necklaces, and the hilts of their swords are ornamented. Two inscriptions tell us who they are. One is Shāpūr, 'King of Kings,' son to Ormazd; the second Shāpūr, 'King of Kings,' son to Shāpūr and grandson to Ormazd; they are, therefore, Shāpūr II. and Shāpūr III. The workmanship is rather clumsy; the hunting-scenes and the ornaments at the entrance of the first grotto are of much higher artistic value. If we further mention the unfinished bas-relief found by Sir Robert Ker Porter in the ruins of Rai, we believe that we have completed the list of the most important Sassanian monuments.

We have still to speak briefly of Irānian coins. The Dareiki have already been referred to (page 661).<sup>2</sup> The Arsacian coins need not be discussed here on account of their Greek character, though the effigies and ornaments

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187 *seq.* and pl. 65.

<sup>2</sup> ["It was a pure gold coin struck by order of Darius I. It represented the king in a kneeling posture, habited in his flowing garment with the royal tiara, holding in his right hand the royal staff, perhaps a lance or a sword, and in his left a bow. According to Tabari the king was in olden time represented on both sides of the Dirhem; on the one seated on the throne with the crown on his head, on the other on horseback with the lance in his hand."]—*Tr. n.*]

of the Arsacian kings deserve also the attention of the Irānian archæologist.

As to the Sassanian kings, we find the finest specimens of their coinage in the beginning of their dynasty under Ardashir I.<sup>1</sup> From the time of Shāpūr II. they deteriorate perceptibly and degenerate under Peroses to the verge of barbarism, and continue so under the succeeding sovereigns. Under Khosrav II. there appears some improvement, but after that there is no real progress, and the same defects appear in the coins of the last Sassanidae.

As for music, we can only remark that it was always popular in Irān; but we do not know anything more definite about it. Vararan V. was very fond of music.<sup>2</sup> He not only had female Greek lute-players in his suite, but he is even said to have introduced Indian music in Persia. At the court of Khosrav II. two singers, Bārbad and Sargash (Sergius), are mentioned in the Book of Kings. We may suppose them to have been Greeks, and there can be no reason to doubt that Greek as well as Indian music was not unfrequently heard at the court of the Irānian sovereigns.

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift ddmG.* vol. VIII. 7. As for the other relics of the Sassanidae we refer to Mr. Ed. Thomas, "Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals, and Coins." London, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> [Cf. J. Darmesteter, "The Origin of Persian Poetry":—"One day king Behram Gor of historic and legendary memory was at the feet of his mistress, the beautiful Del Ārām. He told her of his love, she spoke to him of her own. Their words were an echo of the harmony in which their hearts beat together. It is thus that poetry, rhyme, and rhythm took births in Persia.—The legend is beautiful but a little too late . . . Seven centuries before Behram Gor and Del Ārām, the companions of Alexander the Great had heard the poets of Susa sing the loves of Zariares and Odatis . . . . But all this poetry is lost to us; what is left is a remnant devoid of all charms, the famous Gāthās of the Zend Avesta, rhythmical sermons which breathe irreproachable morals, and which offer all the poetic interest of a catechism." *Vide* 'Indian Spectator,' Aug. 15, 1886.—*Tr. n.*]

## APPENDIX.

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### THE IRĀNIAN ALPHABETS.

THE ancient Persians made use of two distinct characters. So early as in the Inscriptions of Darius the term *dipis* denotes an inscription ; and this word may be derived from a verbal root *dip*, which has been preserved also in other Irānian languages in different derivatives. To this root we might especially trace the Greek word *διφύρα* which was employed by Ktesias and other Greek writers as a name for the Persian Annals ; but which, as may be gathered from the testimony of Herodotus (V. 58), was used at an early period to denote a book or a manuscript. Herodotus seems to believe that the word was originally Greek, and perhaps derived from *δέφω* ; but this opinion is distinctly erroneous, for the word is strictly Persian and comes from *dip* ; even to the present day the Persian word *defter* means a book. From the same root we have the words *dibistān*, "a writing-room, a school" ; *dévān* or *divān*, which means "a writing book, or chamber" in the Armenian archives, and the Mod. Persian word *diwér*, Arm. *dpīr*, "a writer." As regards the original meaning of the root *dip*, I suppose it to be identical with the Skr. *lip*, "to besmear," and, therefore, also contained in the words *lipi* ("spreading over, writing") and *lipikara* ("white-washer, writer"). This supposition is not contradicted by the fact that the inscription, which Darius calls *dipis*, is cut on rocks, since we know that the engraved letters were also overlaid with gold or painted. On the contrary, this view is confirmed by the Mod. Persian words دیوار *déwār*, "wall," and دَبَاج *débāj*, "brocade,"

which must be traced to the same root. Another Old Persian expression for writing is *ni-pish*, which is also used by Darius and contained in the Mod. Persian *nivishtan*. It seems to have migrated further westward and to have found a place in the Sclavonian dialect, wherein words like *pismo*, "writing," &c., point to the existence of a root *pish*, to which might also belong the Old Prussian words:—*peisaton*, "written"; *peisalei*, "writing." Accordingly, we are able to point to the use of two distinct terms for the art of writing among the Southern Irānians. However, the case is different with respect to Northern Irān. Here we find a name for a written document only in the word *naska*, which may be identified as a word borrowed from the Arm. ܢܫܬܐ "to transcribe." But this etymology is uncertain, and no other name for writing exists. Wherever books are referred to, allusion is frequently made to memory (*darethra*) and recitation (*marethra*). This circumstance shows beyond doubt that the sacred lore was originally impressed on the memory of scholars by tradition and oral instruction. It would be rash to infer from this circumstance that in olden times the use of writing was unknown to the Northern Irānians; whereas Herodotus states that Deioces, after his accession to the throne, caused most of the events of his reign to be recorded in writing. The fact, however, is that even at the present day we can only put forth conjectures as to the character of the Northern Irānian writing.

On the other hand, our knowledge regarding the style of writing in Southern Irān reaches as far as the beginning of the Achaemenian monarchy, especially if we ascribe, as we probably may, the small inscription in Murgāb to the founder of that dynasty. The earliest form of Southern writing known to us is found in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae; consequently we have the advantage of its having been transmitted to us in the very form in which it was originally inscribed. It is a variety of the so-called cuneiform writing, but one differing considerably from all



others, which it surpasses in simplicity. This circumstance gives strength to the theory of the comparatively later origin of the Old Persian cuneiform writing, which is locally the most Eastern species of its kind. A more intricate system of cuneiform writing is found in translations standing side by side with the Old Persian texts. In Northern Irān we meet with inscriptions following this intricate cuneiform system, engraved by kings still unknown to us in Media as well as in Armenia. Western Irān, the land of the Euphrates and the Tigris, however, is specially famous for such specimens of cuneiform writing. On the contrary, not a single line in cuneate letters has yet been discovered eastward of Persis. Although M. Ferrier thought he had met with such inscriptions in Balkh and Farah, his belief has not been confirmed by later research, and it must, therefore, be regarded as erroneous. That the cuneate writing was confined to the western part of the Irānian kingdom, is sufficient proof that it could not have been derived from the East. It would be more reasonable to give it a northern origin; but the most probable view is that it came from the West. In dealing with this subject we need not be struck by the dependence of the Southern Irānian kingdom upon Northern and Western Irān, for we have lighted upon similar facts in other parts of our study of Irānian civilization. We repeat that the use of cuneiform writing throughout Persia proves that the latter country, as well as the whole western frontier of Irān, was more or less familiar in ancient times with the civilization of Babylon and Niniveh. Yet the specific identification of the Old Persian cuneal system with the more ancient systems, presents no insignificant difficulties. The Old Persian cuneiform writing is the only system which really deserves to be called an alphabet; all other varieties are mere syllabaries. Several peculiarities in the Old Persian writing make its identification with the *Anarian* systems impossible. There are signs which merely stand for the vowels *i* or *u*, but none for *a*. The letter, which must

be followed by *a* in reading, denotes at the same time certain vowel-less consonants. These are some of the characteristics considerably differing from the earlier systems, which contain certain signs for syllables, *e.g.* *ru*, *ri*, &c. The letters *m* and *v* are distinguished in the Old Persian alphabet, but not in the earlier cuneiform systems. Assyrian writing has no signs for aspirates, while the Old Persian carefully distinguishes the hard aspirates at least. These peculiarities do not allow us to connect the Old Persian alphabet either with the *Anarian* or the Assyrian syllabary: on the contrary, they exhibit some points of contact with the Babylonian. The ideographic sign for king (which would formerly have been read *naga*) is taken from the Babylonian, and lately M. Oppert has found altogether nine such signs corresponding to the Babylonian ones.<sup>1</sup> This circumstance supports the theory which ascribes a Babylonian origin to the Old Persian alphabet; and M. Oppert (p. 244) supposed that it was for the first time systematized by Cyrus or at his command, after the occupation of Babylon, by the Persians. For this purpose the Old Persians seem to have fixed on 36 words which were represented in Babylonian by ideograms, to each of which they attached the value of a single character. The alphabet was rendered still simpler by bringing into the new system only angular and single cuneal signs—the latter being horizontal as well as vertical—from three to five of which fundamental elements the different letters were formed.<sup>2</sup> In this way we may account for the change from the syllabic systems to the method of writing in letters; however, we are at a loss for any explanation of the high

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oppert, "*Sur la formation de l'alphabet perse*," *Journal Asiatique*, 1874, pp. 238 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> In Oppert (*ibid.*, pp. 242 *seq.*) we find a table of Babylonian characters from which the Old Persian alphabet is supposed to have been developed.

proficiency attained by the Persians, which led to their invention of an alphabet to replace the cumbrous mode of writing in syllables. Besides, it is scarcely possible to assume that the cuneiform writing was the only method which people could make use of during the rule of the Achaemenidae. It is true that it has many advantages for monumental inscriptions; nevertheless, its incongruities must have been felt in the ordinary intercourse of life. It is impossible to suppose that letters, edicts,<sup>1</sup> or literary works, for instance the royal annals mentioned by Ktesias, were written in cuneal letters. It is more probable that, along with the cuneiform alphabet, another system of writing was in use for epistolary or literary purposes. What this system was and whether it sufficiently corresponded in principle to the former, we cannot of course state, for we know nothing about it. But since a regular alphabet was known in the countries west of their own, besides the cuneiform system,<sup>2</sup> it is likely that the Old Persians may have borrowed a similar mode of writing from Babylon or Assyria and adapted it to their own language. In any case, however, it could not have been perfectly suitable for employment in the Old Persian dialect, owing to the natural want of harmony between an Indo-Germanic language and a Semitic alphabet. But such inconsistencies have lasted to the present day through the whole of Irānian history; while the inconvenience arising from the use of a Semitic alphabet need not have been insuperable, since it was used only by natives, whose knowledge of the spoken language must have made up for the deficiencies of the written alphabet.

The period of the Achaemenidae was followed by the empire of the Parthians; and we have already stated that the Arsacidae stamped their coins with Greek legends in

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<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, I. pp. 124, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Schrader, *Die Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilschriften*, p. 167.

Greek characters. But, on the other hand, a number of coins are still preserved, which owe their origin to the age of the Arsacidae, probably to the satraps (viceroys), and which are inscribed in the native language and character. Upon these coins M. Levy has based an elaborate and admirable treatise—his “History of Irānian Writing in the Parthian Period.”<sup>1</sup> Most of the coins alluded to in this work belong to Hamadān, Sherāz, and Kermān,<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* to the South and West of the kingdom. That they owe their origin to the Irānians can be clearly demonstrated, since they exhibit the device of a fire-altar and a man standing before it in prayer. On several of them we observe also the image of Ahura Mazda himself, similar to the symbol of Him found on earlier monuments. The effigy of the king also supports this view. Indeed, he does not wear the high tiara of the Great King, but he has an Irānian head-dress, which on the later coins is evidently the *Patidāna*. On one of these coins, however, the king is shown holding a sceptre, a flower, and a goblet, as on the monuments of Persepolis. All these circumstances evince the correctness of M. Levy's theory that these coins must be ascribed to the Irānian satraps. This seems to have been indicated also by the position of the king's face, looking towards the right, whereas the image of the Great King always looks towards the left. The coins bear legends in indigenous characters; the letters belong to the Aramaic alphabet of the fourth and third century B.C., as it was used on monuments in Asia Minor, as well as on the coins, seals, monumental columns, and papyrus fragments discovered in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Hence it might be inferred that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Levy, *Beiträge zur aramäischen Münzkunde Erāns und zur kunde der älteren Pehlevischrift*, *ZddmG.* vol. XXI. pp. 421 seq. Cf. also Franc. Lenormant, *Études sur l'alphabet Pehlvi*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865, vol. II. pp. 180 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Levy, *ibid.*, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

the Persian satraps, to whom the coins belonged, caused them to be struck, if not under the sovereignty of Alexander, then under the Seleucidae and throughout the whole period of the Arsacidae; and during this epoch a species of Aramaic writing may have been naturalized in Irān. Inscriptions with traces of a similar character have been found also in Holvan and Khuzistān.<sup>1</sup> They seem to have been akin to the Nabataean and Palmyrene alphabets, but the samples of them now existing are not quite sufficient to allow of any definite opinion being formed regarding them. The question as to the origin of those inscriptions will, therefore, remain undetermined until solved by further research. Another group of coins has a bearing on the history of Irānian writing. The more modern ones are like those described above; yet they must be placed before the beginning of the Sassanian dynasty. These coins are divided into two classes. The greater number of those included in the first class must be assigned on numismatic principles to the time of Phraates I. and Mithridates I., while some of the remaining ones may perhaps belong to the reign of Phraates IV.<sup>2</sup> To these coins M. Levy traces the so-called Parthian writing, which he is inclined to call Western Pahlavi. It is found on the monuments ascribed to the first Sassanidae, but not on their coins; and after their time it becomes quite extinct. The coins comprised in the other class must, according to M. Levy,<sup>3</sup> be ascribed to the time of Vologeses II. (130-149 A.D.). The alphabets on the coins of both these classes are now regarded as the forerunner of the species of writing current under the first of the Sassanidae. It follows, then, that the latter cannot have been developed from the former,

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<sup>1</sup> Levy, *ibid*, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* tablet II. Nos. 1—10 in Levy, who places the coins numbered 8 and 9 in the time of Phraates IV,

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 455.

but that both must have sprung at the same time from the Aramaic alphabet, which ought to be considered as their common parent, and which is found on weights, seals, and gems belonging to the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Achaemenian monarchies. From the same alphabet first arose what has been styled the Southern Pahlavi writing, which M. Levy would call Eastern Pahlavi;<sup>1</sup> while the alphabet, which is known as the Parthian or Persian Pahlavi, must be distinguished as Western Pahlavi, which dies out after the inscriptions of the first two Sassanidae. Eastern Pahlavi, on the contrary, remained in use and developed gradually into the form in which we find it on the later Sassanian coins and in the Parsi manuscripts. We quite agree with this view of the development of the history of Irānian writing; only we admit that we cannot exactly account for the names Eastern and Western Pahlavi. Although I concede that this species of writing may have been current already at a very remote period in Eastern Irān, where the oldest Indian character (the so-called Arian, the use of which for an Irānian language cannot be proved), may have existed with it, and that the Eastern Irānians may have possibly employed it whenever they wrote anything, still we must hold to our supposition that there are no facts before us to show that this alphabet was first introduced precisely into Eastern Irān, and thence gradually extended to the West. According to our opinion, we can here, again, distinguish between North and South. The so-called Western Pahlavi was chiefly current in the North, in the territory belonging to the Parthians. It died out after the fall of the Arsacidae, since, as the power of the Sassanidae grew in the South, the style of writing there current prevailed. The most important point here is that no essential difference ever existed between these two alphabets, and that both of them owed their origin unques-

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<sup>1</sup> Levy, p. 456.

tionably to Western Semitic. Hence it is that vowels are imperfectly distinguished in all such alphabets, since they contain only three vowel-signs, *viz.* those for *a*, *i*, and *u*. Such a deficiency must have been very inconvenient in an Indo-Germanic language, as all the vowels could not have been accurately indicated by those three signs as in the Semitic languages. So the alphabet became in course of time more and more developed, as, from the time of Kobad I., writers began to employ an increasing number of new combinations consisting of two or more consonants linked together. I do not entirely dissent from the opinion expressed by Prof. Westergaard<sup>1</sup>, that among these compound consonants are also found some arbitrary characters; but I believe that their origin may be regarded as on the whole regular and natural. It was a current style, which, though hastily written, was not disagreeable to the eye; and to the natives, who understood the language, its difficulties may not have been so hard to surmount as they appear to us.<sup>2</sup>

According to our view, M. Levy is on the right path when he traces the so-called Zend alphabet, that in which the Avesta is written in our oldest MSS., to the Southern Irānian writing (Eastern Pahlavi).<sup>3</sup> Several of the characters of both these alphabets are quite similar; but there is a number of signs peculiar to the Avesta alphabet, *viz.*,

<sup>1</sup> *Zendavesta*, vol. I. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The variety of writing which we have here designated as Southern Irānian, is also called *Uzvarsh* or *Husvāresh*. A much quoted passage of a Parsi book (*Cf.* my *Husv. gramm.* page 22) expressly names *Uzvarsh* as an alphabet, and, indeed, as the writing of Sevād. This statement can easily be reconciled with the arguments adduced above.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* his *Beiträge*, p. 460. A different view, however, is held by Lepsius, who, in the second edition of his *Standard-alphabets*, p. 120, is inclined to regard the Avesta alphabet as older, from which, he supposes, the ordinary Pahlavi alphabet was first reduced in the time of the Sassanidae.

those of the aspirates, which cannot easily be proved to have been developed from the Southern Irānian writing. The distinctive feature of the Avesta alphabet is in the vowel-signs. It not only comprises the *matres lectionis*, (*i.e.*, the vowel-signs for *a, i, u*); but all the vowels, even the shortest ones, are represented in it and set down in the same line with the consonants, just as is the case in our European alphabets. This peculiarity distinguishes the Avesta alphabet from all the other alphabets of Irān and of Asia in general. For, not only is this characteristic absent in the Old Parthian and Sassānian systems, but, likewise, in the cuneiform as well as Arian characters, since the former only represents the *matres lectionis*, whilst the latter does not place the vowels on the same footing with the consonants, but merges them in the consonants themselves. A single Asiatic alphabet, the Armenian alone, possesses such characteristics. According to our conviction the Avesta alphabet does not seem to be older than the Armenian; perhaps, to a certain extent, it may be contemporaneous with it. . . .

In systematizing the Avesta alphabet the object which the people endeavoured to obtain could only have been to enable the reader to peruse the Sacred Texts as accurately as was necessary. It is probable that it was specially intended for particular individuals who had to read the Sacred Books to the people and who might be liable to commit slight errors in haste owing to the defects of the writing in use; but it is less probable that the object in view was to help the general reader by means of a clear or lucid alphabet. I believe, therefore, that the inventor of the Avesta characters chiefly studied the requirements of the public readers of the Irānian Scriptures, for much, in fact, depended on accuracy in reading them aloud (Comp. *Yasna*, XIX. 6). We should, however, err, if we assumed that such was the exclusive object of the Avesta alphabet; nothing indicates that it



was ever regarded as sacred. Firstly, we find that the majority of the Parsis do not strictly believe that the Avesta was originally written in the Avesta characters that we now possess; in fact, they have sometimes employed the modern Persian alphabet, and in modern times all the fragments of the Avesta, but most frequently the Khorda-Avesta, have been printed in Gujarati. Secondly, the Avesta-writing has not seldom been found also in Pahlavi works in the rendering of certain isolated words, mostly such as could not be made out by any other means. Just in the same manner do we find the Avesta characters frequently used in Pahlavi glossaries to show the pronunciation of certain Pahlavi expressions. Thirdly and finally, we may add that the Avesta alphabet probably contains more signs than are required to exhibit the Avesta Text. The writing in the oldest MSS. of the Avesta, as well as in the later Indian MSS. copied from them, differs somewhat from the characters used in the MSS. that were transcribed in Yezd and Kermān.<sup>1</sup> This difference is, however, unimportant, and, except in minor points, is perhaps due to a taste for elegant penmanship.

So far we have traced the history of Irānian writing from the earliest times to the more recent period, by the help of coins, inscriptions, and written works that are still in existence. Moreover, there are some notices upon Old Irānian alphabets by some Mohammedan scholars, who have written on the antiquities of Irān. Amongst these writers the learned author of the *Fihrist* occupies a pre-eminent position. The majority of these notices refer evidently to the modern Sassānian period and furnish no incomplete survey of the alphabets then current. It must not be supposed that the various specimens of writing, which they describe,

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<sup>1</sup> These will be found in my *Altbaktrischen Grammatik*, pp. 7-8. The slight difference in them seems also to contravene the theory that our oldest MSS. came from Yezd.

represent quite as many systems; several of them may be supposed to be distinct merely in the apparent shape of the characters, just in the same manner as in the later styles Taaliq and Shikest may be distinguished. Nevertheless, we ought to assume a variety of systems in a few cases, where a great difference exists in the number of letters. It is certainly not accidental that the author of the *Fihrist* fixes upon seven as the number of alphabets; the Parsis also believe that *Tahmurath* was gifted with the knowledge of seven descriptions of writing,<sup>1</sup> which was after him transferred to Yima. Elsewhere, too, the number seven is regarded as the most sacred amongst the Irānians.—First of all is to be mentioned the alphabet of Māni, which is probably one of the oldest in the series of alphabets named in *Fihrist*. Since there are several evidences to prove that Māni systematized a particular alphabet, this fact must be considered as beyond all doubt. It is probable that Māni did not wish that his books should be accessible to unqualified readers, and consequently wrote them in an alphabet which was only known to his disciples. This alphabet must have been distinguished from other Irānian alphabets more by the shape of the characters than by its intrinsic nature. As to the number of letters, our authorities are, however, disagreed. While Epiphanes affirms that the alphabet of Māni contained 22 symbols,<sup>2</sup> after the manner of the Syriac alphabet, the author of the *Fihrist* asserts that it was made up of a larger number of characters than the Arabic alphabet, *i.e.*, of more than 28 signs. One single specimen of that writing would be sufficient to remove all doubts.—A second important alphabet is that which is called by the author of the *Fihrist*, the *Din-defterih* (دین دفتریم), which, as its name also denotes, served for writing the Avesta.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Parsi-grammatik*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Epiphanes, *Adv. Haeres.*, II. p. 629, ed. Patav.

Masūdi, who tells us somewhat more on the subject, mentions that this alphabet had 60 letters and was not employed exclusively for the Avesta.<sup>1</sup> It might be regarded to a certain extent as identical with our Avesta alphabet, which exhibits only 48 different signs, granting the assumption that several characters, which were originally in existence, are now no longer distinguished in our Texts.<sup>2</sup> Or we may attach some credit to Masūdi's opinion that this alphabet not only served for transcribing the Avesta; but that the remaining 12 letters were employed in writing other works, which were beyond the pale of the Avesta literature.—A third species of writing, which the author of the *Fihrist* names *Kashtaj* (کَشْتَج), is believed to have been composed of 28 signs and adapted to seals and coins. It was, perhaps, almost identical with the earlier writing of the Sassanidae, which contains only 24 signs including the ordinary compounds,<sup>3</sup> and of which it is quite possible that some of the characters may still be unknown to us.—The fourth species is styled *Half-Kashtaj* (نِیم کَشْتَج) in the *Fihrist*, and was employed in works on medicine and philosophy. This alphabet differs but slightly from the third. Here the number of signs is the same; probably the difference was due only to the materials used in writing books.—Much more unlike the third is the fifth kind of writing, which the *Fihrist* designates *Vesh-debirih* (وِش دَبیرِیہ), i.e., “much-writing,” since it contained no less than 365 signs, in which, the author says, the mysteries of physiognomy were written. As it was a cryptography we must of course believe in the existence of a great multitude of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lepsius, *Das ursprüngliche Zendalphabet* (Berlin, 1863), p. 338. Masūdi, II. p. 124. The *Fihrist*, I. 13th ed. Flügel.

<sup>2</sup> This view of Lepsius is, no doubt, supported by the Parsi traditional writings.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mordtmann, *ZddmG.* vol. VIII. tablet 5.

characters, even if we do not regard the number 365 as authentic. What the shape of these letters was we should like to know; however, the brevity of the author's statement does not admit of any conclusion. It is possible that the author of the *Fihrist* meant such contractions as are to be found in the Huzvaresh writing described above; but it is also possible that the style of writing in syllables, akin to the more complicated species of cuneal letters, survived from the earliest times to the period of the Sassanidae.—A far simpler alphabet is the sixth *Rāz-sahrih* (رازسهریه), *i.e.*, cryptography. It was a twofold species comprising 25 as well as 40 signs, about which we can say very little in particular, because in all probability Ibn Muqaffa himself never saw it. The same may be said regarding the style of writing which he calls *Shāh-debirih* (شاه دبیریه), or “royal writing,” and which must have been very much like the foregoing.—Finally, the seventh and last species bears the appellation of *Nāmeh-debirih* (نامه دبیریه), *i.e.*, the “writing of letters or books.” Besides, it is also stated that some books were written in the old Syriac language and read in Persian. This is somewhat analogous to what the same author says regarding *Zevāreshn*. Nevertheless, this alphabet is said to have been formed of only 33 simple characters without any contractions whatever.



# IRĀNIAN ART

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